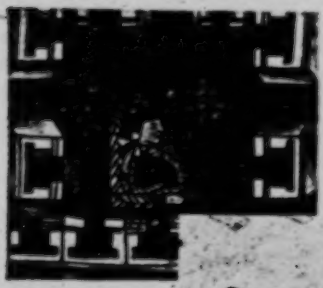
1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

531

PLATES 34-35

AZTEC SOCIETY AND COSTUME FROM

During the mid-sixteenth century the Spanish friar Bernardino de Sahagun made a famous study of the Aztecs, *Historia General de Nueva España*, which was not published until 1829. He had the Indians prepare copious illustrations to clarify his text, but they did not reach public circulation until 1905. The selections here show, besides the social division



Rich Man

[482]

Poor Man

Beggar Man

[735]

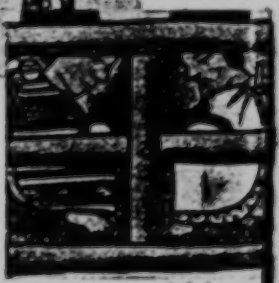
Goldsmith

[326]

Thief

[685]

Feather Worker



[286]

Warriors

[701
411
714]

[P. 112(B)]

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

duce the kernels of corn to flour. Stone tools still persisted for cutting and grinding, and cold, beaten copper was beginning to find favor as a material for needles, axes and ornaments. The volcanic glass, obsidian, because of its sharp edges and its abundance, was as satisfactory as most of their edged metal tools. The simple loom and the weighted spindle were sufficient equipment for the weavers, and pottery had a variety of uses in the storage and service of food. The bow, throwing stick, lance and club were the chief weapons. By and large, mechanical inventiveness was not conspicuous in Aztec culture, although craftsmanship, through the superior use of simple tools, was developed to a high degree, as we shall show in the next chapter. (See Plates 35, bottom right; 37, top left.)

The great cities of the Aztecs had their origin in the simple villages of sedentary tribesmen. Just as in their social organization and economy, there was a simple base, comparable to the settlements of some of our sedentary North American tribes. The houses on the outlying *chinampas* represented the primitive state of Aztec housing. These were huts with thatched roofs resting on walls of wattles smeared with mud, a type of shelter probably in use in Middle Culture times and persisting two thousand years later in the Indian villages of present-day Mexico. (See Plate 42.)

More imposing establishments graced the older portions of the city, where generations of successive residents had brought care, renovation and innovation to domestic architecture. Each house rested on a raised platform faced with stone, which gave some protection against floods. Rooms for social purposes, sleeping, cooking, storage and quartering slaves were arranged in a rectangular plan about a central

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

steps in every case. A final polishing with some simple abra- 324
sive like water and sand often completed the process. Some hard stones seem to have been detached from their matrix by applying the abrasive and sawing with a cord of rawhide or a tool of harder stone. The Middle American people also [412]
developed tubular drills of bone and reed, which, rotated by a bow and aided by an abrasive, could hollow out vases or bore out places that were otherwise inaccessible to the clumsy tools of the time.*

Save for descriptions and drawings, the destruction of 286
time and man has left us only a few examples of the weaver's art. Weaving of some kind is very old, and no people, however primitive, exist in the world today who do not make at least some kind of basketry. Textiles are made as a rule by higher groups, but they are found in the American continent as part of the material equipment of peoples who had not yet learned how to make pottery. An early example of cloth, combining threads of cotton with some fiber like yucca, was found in the Lower Middle Culture horizon of Zacatenco.

The long practice of weaving must and did have a sig- 286
nificant effect on decoration, for the rectangular patterns, to 531
which the weaver is confined, influence all of Indian art in Continental America. Design and the arrangement of elements are more important than form in Indian art. While many geometrical patterns appear in pictures of Aztec clothing, fine embroidery could produce the effect of curvilinear designs or even naturalistic patterns drawn from the regional flora. Batik and tie dyeing also enriched the decoration of [386]
Aztec clothing. Other processes produced the effect of velvet and brocade, and some garments even imitated in tex-

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

286 531 ture and pattern the skins of animals. Judged on a visual basis, the designs on Aztec clothing were by no means inferior to those of the celebrated textile art of Indian Peru. However, we have no positive evidence that technical development of Aztec weaving was equal to Peruvian, for those ancient South American weavers knew and practiced every method known to man and even a few unique to themselves.[6] (See Plates 33–36; 62, bottom left; 64.)

287 Feather mosaic is probably an old craft, since evidence seems to show that it was known to the Upper Middle Cultures. Feather- and the technically allied fur-cloth appear in primitive horizons in North America. The process consisted in tying the stems of feathers into a fabric during the weaving process. Featherworkers adorned shields in this way, dispersing the feathers to represent animals or else purely decorative designs. They made cloaks, too, and created sumptuous insignia worn on the head or harnessed to the body. In these objects the blending of colors was so delicate and perfect as to rival paintings. As late as the nineteenth century, although the art had declined, the Mexicans still depicted landscapes and scenes from daily life in this medium, and today they make charming pictures for the tourists with cardboard, feathers and glue.[7] (See Plate 45.)

321 324 Feather mosaic had an early counterpart in stone and shell; we found a turquoise mosaic in a Lower Middle Culture grave. The wooden handles of sacrificial knives were sometimes ornamented in this way, as were masks, shields and even small gold ornaments. A *tour de force* of the mosaic worker is a wooden shield from the Mixteca, on which little pieces of turquoise were fitted together in a relief sculpture depicting a religious scene.[8] (See Plates 48; 60, bottom right.)

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1956)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

emanated chiefly from Puebla, but in the fifteenth century the quality and quantity increased, indicating the effects of trade and tribute. The historical reports that Texcoco was culturally superior to Tenochtitlan are borne out by archaeology; the Texcocan wares, although following the same styles as the Tenochcan, were better made and had a greater variety of design. Also there is evidence of more trade with foreign tribes." (See Plates 30–32.)

Goblets were made for pulque; graters were made for grinding chilis, and clay vessels were made for every conceivable use; one form was a small oval platter with a special compartment for sauce, resembling the "blue-plate special" dishes of our modern restaurants. The circular roaster or griddle for cooking tortillas came in with Mazapan culture and continued to be popular through Aztec times. The bottoms of griddles were roughened so that heat would penetrate rapidly and evenly to the dough on the smoothed upper surface.

Clay utensils had their use in weaving. The Aztec spinner rested the end of her distaff in exquisite little cups, often charmingly ornamented. Her spindle weights were also made of baked clay. In the fourteenth century these were heavy and had holes large enough for a heavy spindle. Often their burnished black or red surfaces were cunningly adorned with stamped or incised designs representing conventional patterns or human and animal figures. In the fifteenth century the spindle weights became much smaller, so that at times it is hard to distinguish them from beads. This reduction in size perhaps indicates the spinning of more delicate cotton threads.

The spindle weight, or whorl, has an important bearing

3: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1951 NU7 Aztec NU7

The sixteenth month they named Atemoztli. In this month they celebrated a feast to the rain gods, because for the most part in this month it began to thunder and to threaten rain; and the priests of the Tlalocs began to do penances and to offer sacrifices, so that the rains would come.

Al mes decimo sesto llamauan Atemuztli: En este mes ſazian fiesta a los Dioses de la plouja: porque por la mayor parte en este mes, començaua a tronar y hazer demuestras de agua: y los satrapas de los Tlaloques començauan a hazer penjtencias y sacrificios porque venjese el agua.

Chapter 16
Atemoztli

When it began to thunder, the priests of the Tlalocs, with great industriousness, offered *copal* and other fragrances to their gods and to all the statues of these. They said that then they came to give rain. And the common folk made vows to fashion the images of the mountains, which are called *tepictli*, because they are dedicated [to] those gods of the rain. And on the sixteenth day of this month, all the common folk prepared offerings to offer before Tlaloc. And [during] these four days they performed penances, and the men abstained from women, and the women from men.

Having come to [the time of] the feast, which they celebrated on the last day of this month, they cut lengths of paper, and they bound them to a number of poles, from bottom to top. And they set them up in the courtyards of their houses and made the images of the mountains of *tzoalli*. They fashioned for them their teeth of squash seeds, and their eyes of some beans which are named *aiecotli*. And then they offered them their offerings of food, and they worshipped them.

After having kept a vigil for them, and beaten drums and sung for them, they opened their breasts with a *tzotzopaztli*, which is an instrument with which the women weave, almost like a *machete*; and they took out their hearts and struck off their heads. And later they divided up all the body among themselves and ate it; and the ornaments with which

Cap. 16.
Atemuztli.

Quando començaua a tronar los satrapas de los Tlaloques con gran diligencia offrecian copal y otros perfumes a sus dioses, y a todas las estatuas dellos: dezian que entonce venjan para dar agua: y los populares hazian votos de hazer las ymagines de los montes que se llaman Tepictli: porq̃ son dedicadas aquellos dioses del agua. Y a los dezisejs dias deste mes, todos los populares aparejauan offrendas para offrecer a Tlaloc: y estos quatro dias hazian penjtẽcia, y abstenjanse los hombres de las mugeres, y las mugeres de los hombres.

Llegados a la fiesta que la celebrauan el vltimo dia deste mes: cortauan tiras de papel, y atauanlas a vnos barales de vara en alto: y hincauanlos en los patios de sus casas y hazian las ymagines de los montes de tzoal: hazianles los dientes de pepitas de calabaça, y los ojos de vnos frisoles que se llaman aiecotli: y luego los offrecian sus offrendas de comjda y los adorauan.

Despues de sacrios velado y tañido y cãtado: abrianlos por los pechos, con vn tzotzopaztli: que es instrumento con que tezen las mugeres, casi a manera de machete: y sacauanles el coraçon, y cortauãles las cabeças: y despues repartian todo el cuerpo entre sí,

1. Marginal notation: *Atemoztli nuevo.*
2. Marginal notation: *Diuersidad de dias anos.*
3. Marginal notation: *Exposicion Sancte Marie V.*

they placed before all the *xipeme*, they who had put on the skins of men.

And others, who had become drunk, unruly [like] warriors, daring, foolhardy, full of spirit, lively, proud of their valor, playing the part of men, started brawls, forced them to join issue, and battled as if in war, and fought.

And to arouse their wrath, verily to move them, that they might become enraged and angry, they snatched at and pinched their navels.

Whereupon the *xipeme* made them run. Behind them stood a *totec*, named the Youallauan; he followed them and went skirmishing with all the *tototeci*.

Then [the *tototeci*] set upon [the warriors] and took after them; they went on fighting them, seeking to seize and lay hands upon them, like holding those who had detained them by the leg.

And [the warriors] went whirling around, circling back, fighting the others with pine staves.

And if some were taken who had detained [the *xipeme*], these *xipeme* beat them; they struck [such an one] with their rattle sticks, showing their anger.

And they carried him to the Temple of Iopitli; and not for nothing did he come out, not for nothing was he let free. Something was given as ransom; something was taken—perchance a turkey-hen, mayhap a great cotton mantle he offered, etc.

As hath been told in the description of Xipe, just so was it done. Afterwards visits were made and entertainments provided for the *tototeci* and *xipeme*.

Thereupon began the gladiatorial sacrifice. The captives were spread out in order; the captors stood arranging and accompanying them. Then also the striped ones came forth; swiftly the ocelot[-costumed warrior] led and guided them; he came quickly to meet [the captives], displaying his shield and war club and lifting them up toward the sun [in dedication].[34]

Then he turned back, retreated, turned to the rear; once again he went back.

In the same manner there then followed him, coming second, the eagle[-costumed warrior], who similarly lifted up [as an offering] to the sun his shield and his war club.

Once again emerged another ocelot[-costumed warrior], who came out as third, doing the same as he quickly came out.

tlaixco quiocalmana in xipeme, yn ommaquixia tlacecotl. 79r

Auh yn aquiqui, mihiyintia iautlaucliloque, mixtlapaloanj, acan tzauhque, iollotlapaltique, iollochicaoaque, quipoponj yn jntlacauhio moquichaceneqoj, quimonpepeoaltia, quimantlachecalhuja, oiuiaopena, quimoiuiaopeoaltia. [273]

Auh inic vel quiotlauelcujtiaia, ynic vel quimolinjaia, ynic vel in tlauel, in qualan quicuja, quimonxiccuja, quimilaiccoj, quimonxiccotona:

ic njman in xipeme tlapeynaltiaia ymjcampa in teputzco icatiuh ce Totec, itoca iooallaoan, quintoca quintlaichecalhuiiuh, in mochintin tototeci:

ic njman intech ietiquiça, quintlalochtoca, quinixchiuhtiuj, quimaacitiuj, quimamacuitiuj inhq'n in cozztitech ietiuj, in teçaloanj:

auh oalmocuepiuj, oalmomalacachotiuj, ocoquuhtica quinoallahuecalhuiiuj.

Auh intla cenc anoia, in teçaloanj, quimujuiequj in xipeme, in chicaoaztica, quijixilia, vel quincocoltia.

Auh iopico conuicaia, amo çan nen oalquiçaia, amo çan nen caoaloia, itla ic moquixtiaia, itla ic onanoia, aço totoli, aço quachili quimamaia. Ela [231 286]

Yn o iuh mito ipan itlaeilo xippe, çan ie no iuh mochioua: çatepan, in ontetocaque, yn ontcauelti-que, yn ontlapactique tototeci, xipeme:

njman ic pena in tlamoano, tecpantimanj in mamalti, quinnanamjctimani, qoiaiacatimanj in tlamanj: njman no oalquiça in tlamoanque, yiacatiuitz, quiacatiuitz, in teiacantiuitz ocelotl ipan quiztiuitz, conjtitia, conjauilia yn ichimal, yn inmaquuh, in tonatiuh:

njman oc cepa tzinquiça, tzinnecnemj, tziniloti: oc cepa ycuitlauic iauh:

in ic iuhquj njman quiiahoquilia, quiualoncaiotia, oallaoncaiotia in quauhtli, çan no yuj in conjauilia tonatiuh, yn ichimal, yn inmaquuh:

oc cepa no oalquiça, oc ce ocelotl, oallaeaiotiuh, tercaiotiuitz, çan no iuh quichioaia calactiuetzi.

34. Sahagún's Spanish here: "Luego tornaban la rodela, y la espada hacia el sol, como ofreciendo esforcado al sol." Cf. also B. 5.

[If the captive was] a man, he burned

his streamers, and his cloak, and his breech cloot, and all the things he had received, and his water gourd. All these he burned.

And a woman burned all her womanly array—her basket, her spindle whorl, her chalk, her spinning bowl, her warping frame, her *quat* stalks, her battens, her heddle, her divided cord which held [up the textile], her waist band, and her weaving stick, and her thorns, and her skeins, her shuttle, and her measuring stick.[7] All these she burned herself.

Of these of which they disposed in this wise, it was said that they would be needed where they were going, when they went; when they died, there [these things] would await them.

And when it dawned, all were adorned and arrayed. They put upon them their paper vestments, in which they were to die. When they had adorned them, then they were taken where they were to die. Two escorts led them; they went to take them up, and, lest they faint, laid hold of them. And two [escorts] were to bring [the bodies] down; they went to bring them down when they died, and a flag-bearer went bearing a flag. And two escorted each woman. They did likewise when they took each of the ceremonially bathed captives.

And when they had brought them [there], Your captives to be slain went ahead. At the landing at

yoan imantli, yoā in quexquej itlaçtvil, yoā iuuctl nuchi quiytlatia.

Auh in cioatl, nuchi quiytlatia in jaquich icuetlaquj: in jtzaia in jmalac, in jtiçauh, in jtzoalcuz, in jxaxaz, in jotlauh, in jxoxoquez, in jteçac, in jmecamaxal, incuaia, yoā itzopia, yoan ivitz, yoan iquetzon, itzcuh, yoan yiocteczuh: nuchi quiytlatia inema.

Injc ixh quichioa y, quiimach vmpa intech monequiz in vmpa isaque, in jquac mjquiz vmpa quiyaochiaz.

Auh in otlatvic, mec tetlcaualo, techichiualo, quimcuaaquja in amatlaquiel, in jpan mjquiquez: in oquimochichiualoque, mec tevico in vmpa mjquiquez, quiavica in tzaqua, vmentin quintlecaviaquez, in macana çotlaca, quintzintzquiquez: yoā vmentin tzemovjquez, in quimoahtemoviaquez, in jquac ommjcque: yoan ce panoa, in quivicatiuh panjel: yoan vmentin, tzitzanjquc cioa: çan nuchivi in quiavivica, ceceuaz tlaaltiki.

Auh in oquimaxitiquc: iacattivi in mamalti mjquj navintin: apctlac in quimjalpilia imjcxi yoā inma:

7. These weaving implements have been successively identified with the assistance of Dr. Gladys A. Reichard, Barnard College, Columbia University, N. Y., and Dr. Ruthe P. Denton, School of American Research, Santa Fe. The accompanying drawings of weaving and weaving implements are from Books VIII and X, after Peso y Troncoso.

images], holding a vigil for them. And they blew trumpets and flutes for them.

And they who sounded trumpets were not those whose office it was [to blow trumpets], but youths. They were much honored; they were offered food and wine.

And after this, upon the next day, [the priests] then sought weaving sticks. Thereupon they implanted them in the breasts [of the images].[7]

And when they had set in [the weaving sticks], then they cut off the heads of the [figures of] amaranth seed dough. Then they seized what had been used for their hearts, and offered them up to them who had had the figures made, placing them in the green bowl.

And when this was done, when they had slain the [figures of] amaranth seed, thereupon they gathered and heaped up all the paper vestments of the mountain images. They burned [them] in the middle of the courtyard—they consumed them, they laid fire to them. And their little vessels, the little wooden vessels, all these [were] burned together.

And all the reed mats upon which they had stood, and the reed staves, and all the little vessels from which they had eaten, and the green jar, all [these] they took to the Mist House.

When they came [from] leaving these, thereupon first arrived the hidden guests, who were to feast in honor of the images. Then all were offered food, each severally and separately. When they had eaten, then they offered them wine.

And the women also entered. It was said, "They bring in the *tamales*." None came empty-handed; all of them came bringing dried maize kernels, the women carrying them in their skirts. And those who brought their ears of dried maize [brought] perhaps fifteen or twenty.

And when they sat down, when they took their places, then they offered them food. All were offered food. Then likewise they offered them wine, and made them drunk. They set before them wine in black vessels. And they offered them cups, drinking vessels, wine jars, which were also black.

And when they took away the white spotted paper

inh ceiual in quinctzjcatia, quinteçavia, yuan quiotlapichilia, quinvilacapitzalhuja.

Auh in tlapitzaia amo ichoan in tequippanoque, çan telpopochtin, cenca no mavizmachoia, tlamacaia, tlaolcaia.

Auh in ie inhquj in otlatic, mec conjtlanj in tzotzopaztli, njmā ie ic quimoteaquilia in iollopan.

Auh in ocneaquili, njmā ic quiualquechcollalia in tzoalli, mec centanjlia in jiollo muchioa, quiualmaca in tepiquinj, xonvic xicalco, in quiollalilia:

auh in ie inhquj in oquimōnjctiquc tzoalti: njmā ie ic quincencujxtia, quitecpichoa, in jxquich imamatlaquj tepictoton, itoalnepantla in tlatla, in contlatia, in cōtlecavia, yuan in incacaxaxacoton, in quauhcaxtoconti, muchi centlatla.

Auh in jxquixh aztapilpetlat in jpan onoca, yuan ostopilquavitl, yuan in jxquich in tlaquaia in caxtoconti yuan in chalchiuhtecomatl much vmpa concaoa in xiuhcalco.

In ie vi quicaoanque, njmā ie ic ommoiacatia, in tlacaoaztlahi, in tepictlaquanque: mec totlamaco, cecenj, neixcavilo: in ontlaquaque, njmā ie ic quimaca in vetli.

auh in cioa ño calaquj, motenoua ontamalcaoa, niac çan jxh inuh, muchi tlacatl itlacl quitequitiuh in cioa quimecacxanotivi: auh in aca icintzin in quiquj, aço cannoleoti, anoço tlamjc.

Auh in onotocaque, in onotlalique, mec quintlamaca totlamaco: njmā no quimaca in vetli, quintlaolitia, quimoalmanjlia tlilpantica in vetli, yoā quioalmana in totlaoa, in tlaxcanj, in tlaōcaxtil, çan no tlilic.

Auh in jquac concaoa teovitl, in nentlacalli cōna-

7. The Pédrin MS version differs (Sahagún, op. cit., p. 314): "aunque primero horadauan los braços de [illegible] para meter en ellos [illegible]" ("although first they drilled the arms of [illegible] in order to put in them [illegible]"). Tezozomoc (op. cit., p. 306) thus describes it: "adorados por los pueblos, que en Tzompanquilli, que es en [illegible], con que ponen los Mexicanos, á manera de espadas, y sacrificados, estando en pie, con [illegible] que ponen los Mexicanos, á manera de espadas, y sacrificados, estando en pie, con [illegible] en [illegible], y corrompidos los cuerpos, estos sacerdotes hacen [illegible] los huesos, y guardanlos."

And a fire priest arrayed himself; he was bedight as a young warrior. He imitated a young warrior, with his netting cape, his forked heron feather device, his deer hoof [rattles], his lip pendant. He departed from the temple above, and brought a *magney leaf* on which was a small banner.

When he came down to the ground, he then went to the eagle vessel, where stood the grain bin, and there he placed the *magney leaf*.

And when he had placed it there, then appeared the priests, hastening greatly, as if [all] strove to be first. This was known as, and called, "The Flower Race." [For] they climbed up to the temple, where the flower was. It was named "Flower of the God."

And upon reaching the summit, then the priests laid fire to, filled burned, the grain bin. Once again they descended, rushing down with the flower; they cast the flower upon the eagle vessel, in which the grain bin burned. Then all the priests ran off, in all directions. Enough of this.

And upon the morrow, then began [the sport of] casting bags at people. All made bags for themselves. They carried grass nets, and filled them with the flowers of reeds or with scraps of papers. They shredded paper; they shredded it fine and bound it to the inside [of the nets]. And some carried nets [made] as it were like gloves, also filled with reed flowers; [these] were called hand bags. And some only prepared themselves green maize leaves, which were made into bags; they pressed the leaves into balls.

And now it was commanded that none should put stones [in the bags]. Those who were yet small boys played purely in fun when they began the mock-fight with bags; only gradually it quickened. As the mock-fight was fought, as it flared [in intensity], blows were struck, perchance at the heads [of the participants], or their backs, or their breasts, as they dealt blows.

And the older boys cast bags at the maidens—those [yet] with long hair[dress]—whenever these came before them. They cast bags at them, surrounded them, [so that] in truth, they made some of them weep. And when some woman took forethought, if she went forth, she carried her staff, or else [carried the branch of] some kind of thorny plant. If anyone came upon her to cast a bag at her, she pursued him; she was thus defended.

And if she carried nothing for her defense, verily

auh ce tlenamacac in mochichioaia, motelpuchchichioaia, telpuchtli ipan quiça icuechin, yiaztaqui, ichochol itenpiiol: vmpa oalcoa in teucaltiçpac, metl quivicatz, pilnonti itech icativiz. 796r [293]

In oncuo tlalchi: njmã ie ic vmpa iauh in quauhxicalco, in vmpa icac cuescomatl, vmpa coatlalia in metl.

Auh in ocõtlali, njmã ie ic eoa in tlamacazque, cenca motlaloa, iuhquin mopapanaviiivi: motencoa, motocaiotia. Suchipaina, quitlecavia in teucalli, vmpa caca tuchitl: itoca Tezcatlipoca.

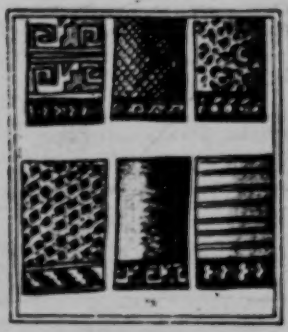
Auh in opanvchoato: njmã quitlemjna, quitlecavia, in cuescomatl in tlamacazque: no ceppa oaltemo, quioalcuicuioiquiça in tuchitl: vncã quioallaztimanj in tuchitl in vncã quauhxicalco, in vncan tlatla, cuescomatl: njmã motlatlaloa, in tlamacazque, çan ic quiztimanj, çan oc ie ixquich.

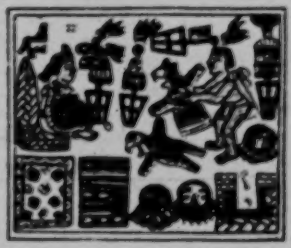
Auh in iuuntlaioc: njmã ie peoa in nechichiquavilo, ixquich tlacatl quimuchichiviliaia chichiquatli: in acamatlatl in quecoaia, vncã quitentiquetza in tolcaputl, anoço amaxtzontli: in amatl quipochina, quipopochina, in itic quicacatza: auh in cequintin iuhquin macpalli, quecoaia matlatl, no quitentiquetza in tolcaputl: motocaiotia, macpalchichiquatli: auh in cequinti çan inozt in quimuchichiviliaia, in quimochichiquatiaia: inozt in quitzatzapaiollaliaia. 796r 286

Auh in iquac nenamatiloia, inic niac tetl itic quitlalia: çan onavilpeoa, çan oc pipiltotonti in quipeoaltiqia in mochichiquauiztlaia, çan iuh nenti veia: inic mitoaiauda iuhquin cocomonj ic moviiiztequj, aço imjxpac aço incuitlapan, aço imelpan in quimotlaxilia. 796r

Auh in telpopochpipil, quinchichiquavitia in ichpopochti, ichoantin in tzonquemeque, in iquac imjxpan quiça, vacan quichichiquavia, cocolhuja, in aca vel quichochoctia: auh in aca cioxl monemachtia, itzla canapa iaz itlaquavid quijcqui, anoço tlacatecolocococoviztli: itzla aca ie vitz, quichichiquavia, ic quijoca, & monequatla.

Auh in aca ahc quijcqui, inemequatlaia, vel cochil-





—*After Paso y Troncoso*

72-74. Women's array—*cuipilli, cueitl* (Chapter 19). 75. Weaving and spinning equipment (Chapter 16). 76. Laying plans for war (Chapter 17). 77. The ruler's war array (Chapter 17). 78. Priests and warriors in battle array (Chapter 17).

532

[291
302]

[443
714]

[283
286]

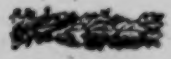
[701
714
793
411]

[723]

[p. 36(I)]

[p. 36(H) is blank]

6: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1954 NU7 Aztec NU7



Sixteenth Chapter, in which it is told how the women were trained.

[Their were] the device with which [the loom] was held; the divided cord; the skein; the shuttle; the cane stalks; the wide batten, which swished [as it was used]; the thin batten, one made of bone; the small batten with which they worked designs; the heddle; the flail; the spindle whorl; the spinning bowl; chalk; the shallow spindle whorl when they spun with feathers; the basket for unspun cotton, one for rabbit hair, one for cotton thread, the basket for feathers, and the earthen bowl for feathers; the rack for yarn; the colored wood[1] with which they dyed cotton when they wove; the bowl for colors in which they dissolved pigments; the paper patterns from which they took the shape of whatsoever they made; maguey spines, with which they picked the cotton threads.

They took personal charge of preparing food and chocolate. There were their older women, who had reared them; and their hand-maidens were hunchbacks and dwarfs, who sang and played the [small ground] drum to amuse them.

Injc caxtolli ece capitulo, vncan mjtoa, injc moiehecoaia çioa. 286 462

Nezcoçj, mecamaxalli, quatzontli, xiiotl, otlatl, tzotzopaztli cacalaca, patlaoac: tzotzopaztli pitzaoac, omjtzotzopaztli, tzotzopaztepiton, ic tlamachioa: tecaçatl, tlaujteconj, malacatl, tzaoalcaxitl, tiçatl, xaxalmálacatl ic iujtzaoa: ichcatzanatli, tochomjtzanatli, icpatzanatli, iujtzanatli, iujtecomatl: tzatzaztli, tlacujlolquaujtl injc quicujloa icpatl in quiçqujti: tlapalcaxitl, in vncan çoçpatla intlapal: amamachiotl, in vncan cana tlein tlamachtli quichioa; vitztli injc quiuitzcuj icpatl: [386]

tlaqualchioa, achioa, quinomauja: vncatz in jnnahoan in quimjxcaltia, ioan in cocoa tepotzome çihoa, tzapame, cujca, tlatzotzona: injc meleiquixtia. 462 [722 534 522]

1. Thredfrom wood. Sahagún (*op. cit.*, III, p. 222) describes the tools as "herramas, y dizen los otros oficiales que tienen algunas cosas de las suyas; se debe usar mucho, porque de ello se hacen repartimientos, tambarillos y cañutos. . . ." One is pictured in Kimball, *op. cit.*, Pl. 49.

[p. 50 is blank]

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

635 *Regional names.*—The cabacera of Hueypuchtla lay within the region known as the Teotlalpan,[47] as did Tequixquiac[48] and the Tezcatepec we have identified as the pre-Hispanic Tezcatepectonco.[49]

TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—Hueypuchtla and its subject towns paid the following tribute to the Empire:

CLOTHING

[291 400 little decorated mantles[50]
714] 400 henequen mantles with black-and-white border[50]
800 white henequen mantles[50]
62 warriors' costumes, with shields[50]

FOOD[50]

[263 4 wooden cribs (1 each of maize, beans, chian, and huauhtli)
263] 400 jars of thick maguey honey

651 *Tribute of the component towns.*—Some of the elements of the
632 tribute listed above may be traced in the relaciones of the sixteenth century.

[284] Hueypuchtla gave game and mantles and weapons, as well as making a special milpa for purposes of tribute. Nets are also mentioned—an unusual item.[51]

Tezcatepec[tonco] provided weapons and game.[52]

[231] Tolnacuchtla gave tribute of game, among which figured live eagles.[53]

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[47] *PNE*, 3: 48, 6: 26. See discussion of regional names, Azcopan (p. 47) for a definition.

[48] *PNE*, 3: 51.

[49] *PNE*, 6: 32.

[50] *PNE*, 6: 28: "rreconoçian a ... Mocteuma y a sus antecesores, dauanle por tributo, venados, conejos, rredes y vnas mantillas de nequen que son como anjeo de Castilla, y codornyces y cutalas, arcos y flechas, y le hazian vnas sementeras, mahiz, frisoles, calabaças y otras semyllas menudas de esta tierra."

[51] *PNE*, 6: 32: "davanle de tributo venados, conejos, liebres, culebras, arcos, flechas, pellejos de venados."

[52] Live eagles were depicted in the *Matrícula* from two other provinces of the north: Oxitipan and Xilotepec. *PNE*, 6: 25: "davanle de tributo aguilas, codornyces, venados, liebres y conejos."

11:Diaz T,H-5 (1519-1520) 1910
NU7 Aztec NU7

that it contained, and at the good order and control that was maintained, for we had never seen such a thing before. The chieftains who accompanied us acted as guides. Each kind of merchandise was kept by itself and had its fixed place marked out. Let us begin with the dealers in gold, silver, and precious stones, feathers, mantles, and embroidered goods. Then there were other wares consisting of Indian slaves both men and women; and I say that they bring as many of them to that great market for sale as the Portuguese bring negroes from Guinea; and they brought them along tied to long poles, with collars round their necks so that they could not escape, and others they left free. Next there were other traders who sold great pieces of cloth and cotton, and articles of twisted thread, and there were *cacahuateros* who sold cacao. In this way one could see every sort of merchandise that is to be found in the whole of New Spain, placed in arrangement in the same manner as they do in my own country, which is Medina del Campo, where they hold the fairs, where each line of booths has its particular kind of merchandise, and so it is in this great market. There were those who sold cloths of henequen and ropes and the *cotaras*[1] with which they are shod, which are made from the same plant, and sweet cooked roots, and other tubers which they get from this plant, all were kept in one part of the market in the place assigned to them. In another part there were skins of tigers and lions, of otters and jackals, deer and other animals and badgers and mountain cats, some tanned and others untanned, and other classes of merchandise.

Let us go on and speak of those who sold beans and sage and other vegetables and herbs in another part, and to those who sold fowls, cocks with wattles, rabbits, hares,

[1] Sandals.

16:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

Mother: "nantli" — "tenantzin" — "teciztli."[18] 601

Aunt: "auitl" — "teaui."[19]

Grandmother as well as grand-aunt: "citli."[20]

Great-grandmother "piptontli."[21]

Descending from the "Ego."

Son: "tepiltzin," "tetelpuch." But the women (mother, sisters, etc.), call him "noconeuh."[22]

[18] *Molina* (I, p. 80; II, pp. 62, 82, 96). "Citli" is probably the same as "Citli,"—hare, or grandaunt. The fact that the same name should be given to a near female relative or even to the mother, and to a fleet, timid, quadruped, is very singular. It may be that the timidity of the animal has given occasion to bestow the name, or, since hare's hair was frequently woven into fine mantles, together with feathers, that this also may have given rise to it. The latter is first mentioned by *Peter Martyr, of Anghiera*, "*De nouo Orbe*," *or the* "*Historie of the West Indies, etc., etc.*" London, 1612. An English translation by Michael Lok and Richard Eden, of the famous "Decades," also entitled "*De Rebus Oceanicis*," (Dec. V, cap. X, p. 239), he mentions having seen among the objects brought to the court of Spain by Juan de Ribera, garments; "they compact of Conies haire, and they set those feathers in such order between the Cony haire, and intermingle them between the thriddes of the cotton, and weave them in such difficulty, that we do not well understande how they might do it." *Sahagun* (Lib. XI, Cap. 1, p. 137) mentions another animal to which the name "cioatlamacasqui" is given, which he translated "little old woman," basing upon its other designation of "tlamatca." [257 284]

The reverend father is, however, in error. The first name signifies literally, "woman medicine-man," or "female doctor" (Indian notion of course), and the second "little medicine-man," from "cinaui" woman, Molina, II, p. 22, "tlama"—medicine-man, (II, 122). This animal seems to be the Raccoon, as the following quotations prove: *Joannis Eusebius Nierembery*, ("*Historia naturæ maxime peregrinæ*," Antwerp, 1635 Lib. IX, Cap. XLII, p. 175). "Antra canitates montium atque collium Tzozocolxi hospitatur animal peregrinum, quod cuncta manibus practentat. Mapach ab Indis dicitur, sed non firmo nomine; alij illamatca seu vetulam appellant, alij maxilo seu gossypinum simulum, alij cioatlamacasque seu sacerdotissam." *Oviedo y Valdés* (Lib. XII, Cap. XXXIX, p. 429), he calls "Coqumatle," an animal which is probably the Coati, makes no mention of the "mapach," but *Clavigero* (Lib. I, Cap. X, p. 76) treats of this animal fully.

The naming of a female relationship, "Citli" appears the more strange, as this name is given, in the Mexican mythological tales, to a *god* who tried to compel the sun to move, and lost his life in the attempt. This story is due to *Andrés de Olmos*, neither Sahagun nor Motolinia mention the occurrence in this manner. Compare *Sahagun* (Lib. VII. Cap. II, p. 245, etc., etc.); *Mendieta* (Lib. II, Cap. I, pp. 77, 78) and *Torquemada* (Lib. VI, Cap. XLI, p. 76). Both refer it to his authority. We shall refer to it in our essay on "Creed and Belief." [173]

[19] *Molina* (I, 118; II, 9, 91).

[20] *Molina* (I, 118; II, 22). See note 18.

[21] *Molina* (I, p. 117; II, 62). There is also, "alpiptzia"—"parara flaco de vejez," and "Pipiqui yuecayo"—"viejo flaco y arrugado." The affix "tontli" is a diminutive.

[22] *Molina* (I, p. 71). A singular etymology is shown here: The man says, {"Thy / Their} boy" or {"Thy / Their} youth." ("Te-piltzin"—Te-tetpoch" {from "Tehuatl" / or "Te"} {"thou" / "their"} and "Piltzintli," child, male or female, (II, p. 62,) and "Tetpochtli," youth, (p. 96). The woman, however, calls: "my child" (or boy, since the same name is for both

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drew blood. It was said: "Thus was the sun nourished."

And Seven-Flower was said [to be] good and bad. As a good [sign], in certain places the scribes paid it honor and were devoted to it. They set up its image and made offerings to it. Also those women who were embroiderers and cotton thread workers first fasted for eighty days; some fasted for forty or twenty days, when penance was done. Thus they requested of it that what they undertook might be well done; [that] their embroidery or design might be a work of art well fabricated and well painted. All therefore offered incense and slew quail; and all bathed and sprinkled themselves with water, when [the fasting] had been lifted. Then the feast of the day sign, Seven Flower, was celebrated.

Auh in chicome xochitl: mjtoaia qualli, ioã ãqualli: ynjc qualli ceccan vncã tlamaviztiliaia, motemachiaia, in tlacujloque, qujtlaliaia yxiptla, qujdamanjliaia: no iehoan in cios tlãmachchiuhque, icpachiuhque, achtopa qujneçaviliaia, nappoaltica, aca vmpoaltica, cempoaltica in moçaoaia: ic qujtlaitlanjliaia, injc itla vel ainque mjmatiaque, toltecatiaque, yellalaliaque, vellacujloque: in jpan intlamach, intlacuilol: ic mochintin tlenamacaia, tlacotonaia: auh mochintin mãaltiaia, maujujtoaia, yn jquac neoalco, in vncan ilhujqujztililoia, chicome xochitl:

787X 782 286 785

And they said when it was not a good [day sign], that if some embroiderer broke her fasting — it was said — then she merited for herself infamy and an ill name. Thus the could only live in vice and become a harlot. For it was said the embroiderers lived in great vice and became terrible whores.

auh injc amo qualli, mjtoaia, iquac intla aca tlãmachchiuhquj, ynecaoaliz qujtlacoaia, mjtoa: vncã qujmonacevia avilquizcaiotl, aviltocaitl: injc çã ãvilnemjz, ãvienjtiz, ca mjtoa, tlaquauh avilnemja, mãaviltiaia in tlamachchiuhque,

787X 286 785 548

It was said that the one who was their goddess, named Xochiquetzal, made sport of and mocked her. And she gave and thus scourged her with piles and infections.

qujlmach iehoatl inca mocaiaoaia, qujquoquchoaia in inteuh catca, itoca xochiquetzal, ioan qujtemacaia, ic temotlaia, xochiciujztli, palanjlizti.

787X 286 796

But she who did well her penances, who took heed, and so then attained success, was esteemed, and gained honor for herself. In [all] places she was looked to; by the grace of the people, she lived well on earth.

auh in aqujn vel ontlamatcoa in vel monoczа, ca oncã qujçaia, maviztia, momaviçoteaia, cana mozтica, vel moietztica tepaltzinco in tlc:

787X 286

Also it was said of this [day sign] that he who was born on it would perform all crafts well: he would be a good craftsman; he would plan well great works; he would constantly be prudent, if he took good heed. But if he did not take good heed, nothing resulted; he deserved nothing. He only merited the infamy with which he was defamed and the mockery with which he was mocked.

no iuhquj ipan mjtoaia in aqujn ipan tlacati, moch vel qujchioaz in toltecaiotl, vel tetoltecatiz, tlatlanemjliz, ielielizmatquj iez, intla uel monotzaz: auh intlacamo vel,monotza, atle onqujçaia, atle icnopil, çan iaujkqujaca, iquequeloloçã in qujmomaceviaia.

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And Nine Wind was said to be wholly and entirely evil. As to him who was then born, nothing could be made of his life; so nothing would be retained; he could hold nothing; nothing would be kept; nothing would appear; he could do nothing; he was incapable on earth. He was as one driven by the winds, wandering here and there. He might wish to be something, to be someone: he became only nothing. For truly so was his day sign. He might wait for public esteem — to become a mer-

Auh in chicunavi hecatl: mjtoaia, motqujcica, moch centlantica amo qualli: in aqujn ipan tlacati, atle vel muchioa yn jnemjliz, atle vel ic tlaçaloia, atle vel ic tlaana, atle vel ic tlatziccoa, atle ivelneneca, atle veli, atle velici in tlaticpac, çan iuhqujn ecatocotinemj, avic iatinemj, commonectia in ma itlati, in ma acati, çan atlati: ca nel iuhquj itoual: conjatoca, ipan onmjxpoa, in ma pupuchtecati, in manoce cujcujcanjti, teuachti, tetlãtlavicalti, teclcamanalhuj. Etc. atle velitl, çan tlaqualania, çan-aõia motlaclaneoria, monc-

825 And when it appeared that indeed all the chicks
235 fell upon their backs so that they died,[27] upon this they said: "They died of filth; perchance someone came to go in among them; or looked upon them; or indeed it was the householder who slew them by filth." Because of this, they believed, indeed all the turkeys had fallen upon their backs so that they died.

Auh injc nacı çan mochintin aoquetztiuj injc mjqui tetolpipil, ic quitoa: ca tlaçolmjquj: ayo aca ipan ocalaqujco, anoço oquimjttac, anoço aca vel chane in oquintlaçâlmjcti: ic quimatia, in çan mochin aoquetztivi totolin, injc mjquj.

825 It was said that also the same befell those who
236 were married. If perchance somewhere one's spouse,
837 whether woman or man, fell into adultery, they then believed that those which had fallen upon their backs or stumbled over, indeed accused him.

Quil no iuh ipan muchioa in namjquerque: in ayo cana quiztlaxima inamjc, in ayo cioatl, anoço toquichtin: injc quimati, çan quipâqui in aoquetztivetti, anoce cana motlavinequj.

● 286 **Twenty-fifth Chapter, which telleth of her who wove with yarn.**

. **Injc centoalli onmacuilli capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa: in icpatl quiquiti.**

When [a woman] wove with yarn perhaps a mantle, or a shift, or a skirt, which came out awry, unevenly disposed, with crooked edges, they said and it was thought that the weaver of the mantle or shift was not generous. Just like a crooked seam, perverse [would she be]; not generous.[28]

In icpatl, in ayo tilmatli, anoço vipilli, anoço cuetitl: in iquac quiquiti in chicopacilivi, in chicoviaquiztiuh, in tennecujliuhtiuh, quitoaia: quilmach amo tlacaiollo yn tilmaoa, yn vipilli: çan cueciuhquj, çan tlatlavelliloc: amo tlacaiollo.

821 **Twenty-sixth Chapter, which telleth of hail.**

Injc centoalli on chiquacen capitulo, ytechpa tlatoa in tecivitl.

When it rained, and much hail fell, one who there [had] his maize, chili, bean, or chia field scattered ashes from the hearth out of the entrance into the courtyard. It was said that thus his maize field would not be hailed out; it was thought that thus the hail would disappear.

In iquac quiavi, in cenca tecivi: in aquin vnca imjl, anoço ychilcuen, anoço yiecuen, ychian: tleconextli quiiaoac quioalhepeoa, itvalco: quilmach yc amo tecivilos in imjl, quil ic poliui in tecivitl.

754 **Twenty-seventh Chapter, which telleth of sorcerers.**

Injc centoalli on chicome capitulo, yntechpa tlatoa in tlatlavipuchtl.

776 At night walked demons—perchance wizards
787 and sorcerers—where they harmed one in one's house. When the householders saw them, when perhaps some [demon] so [would] harm them, they then placed an obsidian knife in water, behind the door, or in the courtyard. They laid it down at night. They said and it was believed that there the demons and sorcerers would look at their reflections when they would harm one, or there would be death, or sickness would come upon the people.

In iocaltica nemj tlatlacatecculo: ayo nanaualti, tlavipuchtin in canjn ontepoloa in techan: in oquimjttaque in ayo itla ic quipopoloa in chaneque: nimman atlan conteca ytztli puctaxitlan, anoço itoalco quimana in iocaltica, quitoaia: quilmach vacan onmotencavia in tlatlacatecculo, yn tlavipuchtin in tepoloa; ayo mjcoac, anoce cocoliztli tepan muchioaz.

27. Corresponding Spanish text: "los pollos se cayan muertos, los ponia muchos, y eran, llamaua diçiendo que."

28. Corresponding Spanish text: "si parecia, en que la tela, o pannos hiua torcida." Cuevapo, in Simeon, op. cit., is to make a false seam.